[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gaua-i, which run around
[171] in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(°)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(°)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(°)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(°)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 772 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 772 821 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 [761 825] The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are colloquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao!na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao!na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance, [787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the [774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao!na*, the great creator, lives.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes ' *wuu wuu wuu* ', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again ' because a person could get such a fright he could die of it '. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *‖gauwa*.

[787] *‖Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *‖gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *‖gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *‖gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaoˡna* primarily, but are servants of *‖Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 761 753 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *‖gauwasi* have innumerable ways of doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —' rain fire '—is ' a death thing ' and is used by the *‖gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *‖Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *‖gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *‖gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

● 772 776 ≠*Gaoˡna* said, when he praised himself, ' I take my own way and no one can command me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old ≠*Gaoˡna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent.

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured.

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved.

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies.

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride